

# Utah Historical Quarterly

State Capitol, Salt Lake City

---

Volume 2

JULY, 1929

Number 3

---

## UTAH INDIANS AND SPANISH SLAVE TRADE

By Dr. Wm. J. Snow, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

No history of the great American epic of westward migration from the Atlantic seaboard to the slopes of the Pacific border can fail to take into account the Indian. At every stage of advance the native redman has figured prominently in the transformation wrought in his primitive wilderness. This is true of early Utah history as of that of any other section of our country. Indeed Indian references furnish a key to many interesting episodes in the exploration and settlement of Utah Valleys. Hence careful and scholarly attention has been given to this subject in the previous issues of the Utah Historical Quarterly. It will be the purpose of the following article to give other Indian reference and to present in connection therewith certain incidents that furnish a basis for some rather important conclusions.

Escalante, the first white man so far as known to enter Utah valleys was much concerned about the conversion of the Utah Indians. This was shown by certain extracts from his journal, given in the July Utah Historical Quarterly. Continuing the journal account we find him and his little band holding September 24 and 25 a two days' conference with the Indians at the mouth of the Provo River. Great interest was aroused and hope held out that the Padres would return and establish missions here.

Leaving Utah Lake September 26, the Escalante company went southwest, and on the 30th recorded the following: "Very early there came to the camp twenty Indians, accompanied by those that came in the afternoon of yesterday, all wrapped in blankets. They conversed with us very pleasantly until nine o'clock in the morning, as gentle and as affable as the others had been."

They are now on the banks of a river they call Santa Isabel. The journal continues: "From this river and place of Santa Isabel these Indians began to wear **heavy beards** which give them the appearance of Spaniards." On the 29th of September, Esca-

lante described an old Indian whose "beard was long and so matted that he resembled one of the hermits of Europe." This reference to bearded Indians is the connecting link with some subsequent exploits in Utah valley, and a key to the geography of the region.

After 1776, the year of these explorations, no definite account of future expeditions into the Basin came to light again before 1805. It would appear, however, that a route across the mountains is being established over which adventurous Spaniards, for one reason or another, wander into these valleys quite frequently.

In 1805, one Joaquim de Real Alencaster, then governor of New Mexico, enters into communication with the commandant general in regard to the exploits of one Manuel Mestas whom he praises for his virtues and courage. To him is accredited the feat of reducing the Yutas to peace and recovering horses stolen by the Comanches and retaken by the Yutas in subsequent battle between the two tribes. He, Mestas, is spoken of as a Yuta interpreter of fifty years' experience. From the account given it appears he had been in the vicinity of the Yutas Timpanogos which would be around the Utah Lake of today. Furthermore, the inference might be drawn that there existed a rather intimate connection between the Spaniards and the Yutas.<sup>1</sup>

More to the point and more significant is the account of an expedition to Utah Lake and southward in 1813. In this year seven men under the command of Mauricio Arze and Lagos Garcia penetrated to the very heart of the Utah Basin. They were gone some four months, leaving Abiquin March 16, 1813, and returning on the 12th of July following. When the governor of New Mexico heard of their return, he ordered them to report to Manuel Garcia the alcalde of the Villa de Santa de la Canada. This report is contained in a recently discovered document in the archives of New Mexico.<sup>2</sup>

The facts as they related them were in substance as follows: They had gone to Timpanogos (Utah) Lake and remained three days among the Yutas there. They gave testimony under oath that the Indians insisted on selling them slaves, but that they refused to buy. At this the Indians began killing their horses. After eight horses and a mule had been killed the chief succeeded in quieting them. But the Spaniards, nevertheless, felt an impulse to get away.

From this point they went south to the San Sebero (Sevier) River, the Santa Isabel River of Escalante. Here they met a

---

<sup>1</sup>For further information concerning this matter see article by J. J. Hill of Bancroft Library in Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 1, under the title Ewing Young and the Fur trade of the far Southwest.

<sup>2</sup>A photostat copy is now in the Bancroft Library. The original document is listed without number in Twitchell—Spanish Archives of New Mexico.



Yuta of Sanpuchi (San Pete) nation, who guided five of them—the other two remaining with the pack train—to the bearded Indians of whom Escalante wrote. The Santa Isabel river now becomes the San Sebero (Sevier) of the Arze-Garcia expedition, and the bearded Indians become the means of identifying the region.

The affidavits taken contain no reference to any difficulties in reaching the lake region from which it might be inferred that the way to Timpanogos, (Utah Lake) was now well known.

A particular point of this narrative is the reference to Indian slaves. It would seem from facts to be presented later that almost continuously from Escalante's expedition on until after the Mormons came, wandering Spaniards entered these valleys, not only for furs, but to traffic in Indian slaves.

Uncle Dick Wootton<sup>3</sup> an old wilderness man, who apparently was trapping in Utah in 1837-1838, makes the following comment: "It was **no uncommon** thing in those days (back in the 30's) to see a party of Mexicans in that country (the Great Basin) buying Indians, and while we were trapping there I sent a lot of peltries to Taos by a party of those same slave traders."<sup>4</sup>

That this slave traffic was "no uncommon thing" is proved by various other authorities and accredited instances. Says the noted western traveler, Thomas J. Farnham, speaking of the region between the Little Snake River and the Great Salt Lake, "There is a stream called the 'Severe' (sic) River which rises in the high plateau to the S. E. of the Lake. \* \* \* and terminates in its own lakes \* \* \*. Here live the 'Piutes' and the 'Land Pitches' (Sanpitch) the most degraded and least intellectual Indians known to the trappers. \* \* \* These poor creatures are hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken, are fattened, carried to Santa Fe and sold as slaves during their minority. A likely girl in her teens brings often times six pounds or eight pounds. The males are valued less."<sup>5</sup> Similar incidents are related by the noted Indian Scout and Southwestern traveler, Daniel W. Jones. Writing of New Mexico he says: "Thus we find that the people of New Mexico, at the time I am writing of them in 1851, were making annual trips, commencing with a few goods, trading on their way with either Navajoes or Utes (generally with the Navajoes) for horses, which they sold very cheap, always retaining their best ones. These used up horses were

<sup>3</sup>Conard, Howard Lewis—Uncle Dick Wootton the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountains, Chicago, 1890, pp. 75-80.

<sup>4</sup>Bancroft, H. H. History of Utah, p. 473, CF. Whitney History of Utah, Vol. 1, pp. 510-511.

<sup>5</sup>Farnham, Thomas J. Travels in the Great Western Prairies, May 21—October 16, 1839, in Thwaites *Early Western Travels*, Vol. 28, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Jones, Daniel, W. "Forty Years Among the Indians," pp. 49-50.

brought through and traded to the poorer Indians for children. \* \* This trading was continued into Lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican Californians for other horses, goods or cash. All children bought on the return trip would be taken back to New Mexico and then sold, boys fetching on an average \$100, girls from \$100 to \$200. \* \* \* This slave trade gave rise to the civil wars between the native tribes of this country, from Salt Lake down to the tribes in Southern Utah. Walker and his band raided on the weak tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them to the Mexicans. Many of the lower classes, inhabiting the southern deserts, would sell their own children for a horse and kill and eat the horse. The Mexicans were as fully established and systematic in this trade as ever were the slavers on the seas, and to them it was a very lucrative business."

It would seem that this example of slave traffic on the part of Spaniards of New Mexico carried over to the different tribes of Indians themselves. According to Captain Simpson the Indians in the southern part of the territory bartered their children to one another. The Utes in particular bought slaves and sold them to more southern tribes or to Mexicans.<sup>7</sup> This was in 1859. Five years earlier than this James G. Bleak,<sup>8</sup> historian of Southern Dixie records the following regarding a group of missionaries sent to labor among the Indians of that section: "The first day they camped on the present site of Toquerville, and had an interview with the Indian chief Toquer (sic) Indian word for black, they found the band very friendly. The following day the missionaries continued their journey south and camped on the Rio Virgin, opposite the present site of Washington. Here they found another camp of Indians. These were very timid. The women and children secreted themselves in the brush while the men approached the newcomers in a very cautious hesitating manner, trembling as they shook hands with the whites. \* \* \* The cause of their fear it was found arose from the fact that bands of Utes and Mexicans had repeatedly made raids upon them and had taken their children to California and Mexico and sold them for slaves."

These various incidents evidence the fact that this nefarious practice was deepseated and widespread. The interest and devotion of Escalante and his little band in behalf of the souls of the Indians had been transformed into the cruel traffic in their bodies.

The Mormons were brought face to face with this business

<sup>7</sup>Simpson, Captain, "Explorations Across the Great Basin of Utah, 1859," p. 35

<sup>8</sup>Bleak, James G., "Journal History of Dixie." Type copy in Brigham Young University, p. 20 f.



soon after entering the valley. Bancroft records:<sup>9</sup> "During the winter of 1847-8, some Indian Children were brought to the fort (the old Salt Lake Fort) to be sold. At first two were offered but the settlers peremptorily refused to buy them. The Indian in charge said that the children were captured in war and would be killed at sunset if the white men did not buy them. Thereupon they purchased one of them, and the one not sold was shot. Later, several Indians came in with two more, using the same threat; they were bought and brought up at the expense of the settlers."<sup>10</sup> This sounds very much like an incident related by Peter Gottfredson quoting from Solomon F. Kimball's Journal pp. 15-16. He relates that soon after the Mormons arrived in the valley it is recorded that a number of Indians were encamped near Hot Springs, north of Salt Lake City. A little girl whom they had stolen from another tribe was offered for a rifle. The colonists at first refused to buy, whereupon the Indians began to torture her, declaring they would kill her unless the rifle was forthcoming. In the face of this cruelty and threat one of the men parted with his only gun."<sup>11</sup>

The Indian policy of President Brigham Young and the Mormons was one of good will and friendship, and this business greatly shocked them. April 23, 1853, President Young issued the following proclamation:<sup>12</sup> "Whereas it is known to me by reliable information from affidavits and various other sources, that there is in this territory a horde of Mexicans or outlandish men, who are infesting the settlements, stirring up the Indians to make aggressions upon the inhabitants, and who are furnishing the Indians with guns, ammunition, etc., contrary to the laws of this territory and the United States.

"And whereas it is evident that it is the intention of these Mexicans or foreigners to break the laws of this territory and the United States, utterly regardless of every restriction, furnishing the Indians with guns and powder, whenever and wherever it suits their designs, convenience or purpose.

"Therefore, I, Brigham Young, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the territory of Utah, in order to preserve peace, quell the Indians and secure the lives and property of the territory, hereby order and direct as follows: The purport

<sup>9</sup>Bancroft, H. H., "History of Utah," p. 278.

<sup>10</sup>Charles Decker bought one of the prisoners, a girl, who was afterwards brought up in President Young's family. She married Kanosh, an Indian chief.

<sup>11</sup>Gottfredson, Peter, "Indian Depredations in Utah."

<sup>12</sup>Bancroft, H. H. History of Utah, pp. 475 ff. Cf. Whitney, Orson F., History of Utah, Vol. 1, p. 512. This proclamation first appeared in the Deseret News of April 30, 1853. A little later it was copied by *El Siglo Diez Y Nueve* (Mexico) in its issue of July 16, 1853. On July 20, 1853, this same paper devoted the entire front page to the subject in opposition to governor Young's action.

of the order was for a detachment of thirty men to go south through the settlements, warn the people, and apprehend all such strolling Mexicans and keep them in custody until further advised."

A little more than a year before this proclamation, January 31, 1852, the Utah legislature passed a law prohibiting this whole business. The preamble read as follows:<sup>13</sup> "From time immemorial, the practices of purchasing women and children of the Utah tribes of Indians by Mexican traders, has been indulged and carried on by these respective people, until the Indians consider it an allowable traffic and frequently offer their prisoners or children for sale."

The immediate occasion for this law was no doubt the report in the *Deseret News* of November 15, 1851, that a party under Pedro Leon were in Manti, Sanpete valley, trying to trade horses for Indian children. Moreover, Leon held a license signed by Governor James S. Calhoun and dated Santa Fe, August 14, 1851. This identifies the Mexicans as Spaniards from New Mexico.

The announcement of the presence of this party aroused considerable concern, and later eight of the group including Pedro Leon, were arrested and tried before the justice of the peace at Manti, in the winter of 1851-52. Still later the case came up before Zerubbabel Snow, Judge of the First District Court, and was decided against the defendants, and the Indian slaves in their possession were liberated and the Mexicans sent away."

In summing up the evidence Judge Snow pointed out that the previous September (1851) twenty-eight Spaniards left New Mexico on a trading expedition with the Utah Indians in their various localities in New Mexico and Utah, that before leaving one Pedro Leon obtained from the governor of New Mexico a license to trade on his own account with these Indians, that upon exhibiting his license to governor Young he was told that the license did not cover or authorize trade with the Utah Indians and that he himself would never license traffic in women and children. The Spaniards then promised they would go immediately home. All but eight kept their promise. These were the defendants in the case described.

It appears perfectly evident from all this that the region South of Utah Lake must have been well known and frequently visited during the first half of the nineteenth century. The settlements visualized by Escalante did not materialize. Instead, unscrupulous Spaniards devoid of the spirit and purpose ex-

<sup>13</sup>Page 3, Utah Laws and Statutes, etc. Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials (Salt Lake City, 1855), p. 70.

<sup>14</sup>Bancroft, H. H. op. cit. Cf. Whitney, History of Utah, Vol. 1, pp 510-511; also Jones, Daniel W. op. cit. pp. 50 f.



ploited the Indians in a most cruel and inhuman manner. The Mormon leaders with the same concern for the Indians the good Padres exhibited, put a stop to this disreputable business and sought to convert the Indians to their faith.

## SOME SOURCE DOCUMENTS ON UTAH INDIAN SLAVERY

### Indian Tribes Of The Interior Of Oregon, 1841\*

The Snakes, or Shoshones, are widely scattered tribes, and some even assert that they are of the same race as the Camanches, whose separation is said to be remembered by the Snakes; it has been ascertained, in confirmation of this opinion, that they both speak the same language. The hunters report, that the proper country of the Snakes is to the east of the Youta Lake, and north of the Snake or Lewis river; but they are found in many detached places. The largest band is located near Fort Boise, on the Snake river, to the north of the Bonacks. The Snakes have horses and fire-arms, and derive their subsistence both from the chase and from fishing. There are other bands of them, to the north of the Bonacks, who have no horses, and live on acorns, and roots, their only arms being bows and arrows. In consequence of the mode of gaining their subsistence, they are called "Diggers," and are looked upon with great contempt.

The Crows inhabit the country between the Wind River Mountains and the Platte; and are represented as not so hostile at present to the whites as the Blackfeet. The former are much the most shrewd and intelligent of the Indian tribes, and keep up a continual war with the Blackfeet and Snakes. The battle-ground of these three nations is about the headwaters of the Platte, Green, and Snake rivers, or in the vicinity Fremont's South Pass. Their proper or Indian name, is "Upsaroke".

The Bonacks resemble the Snakes in their character and habits. They inhabit the country between Fort Boise and Fort Hall, and are considered as a braver people than the Snakes, with whom they are occasionally at war; but their particular enemy is the tribe of Cayuses.

The Sampiches are a tribe wandering over the desert south of the Youta Lake. Their language is said to be allied to that of the Snakes, and their habits to those of the "Diggers" or poorer Snakes.

The Youtas inhabit the country between the Snake and

---

\*Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. During the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, by Charles Wilkes, U. S. N. Commander of the Expedition, member of the American Philosophical Society, etc. In five volumes, and an Atlas, Vol. IV, pages 471-474. Philadelphia 1845.

Green rivers. These also resemble the "Diggers" in appearance and mode of life, although their language is by some thought to be peculiar.

The barren country between the Youta Lake and the California range of mountains, is thinly inhabited by Indians, speaking the same language as the Bonacks. Mr. Newell of the Willamette, has known Indians of these tribes acquainted with individuals of the Bonacks.

Southwest of the Youta Lake live a tribe who are known by the name of the Monkey Indians; a term which is not a mark of contempt, but is supposed to be a corruption of their name. They are said to differ remarkably from the other natives of this country; and the description of them has the air of romance, though it appears to be well substantiated by persons who have travelled in the direction of their country. But few have seen them, except the hunters of Mr. Walker's party who were with Captain Bonneville. They are reported to live in fastnesses among high mountains, to have good clothing and houses; to manufacture blankets, shoes and various other articles, which they sell to the neighboring tribes.

Their color is as light as that of the Spaniards; and the women in particular are very beautiful, with delicate features and long flowing hair. They are said to be very neat in their persons, dignified and decorous in their manners, and exceedingly modest. The story goes that the hunters who saw them were so much pleased, that they determined to return and settle among them; but on their return to the Rocky Mountains, they were prevented by old associations. Some have attempted to connect these with an account of an ancient Welsh colony, which others had thought they discovered among the Mandans of the Missouri; while others were disposed to believe they might still exist among the Monkeys of the Western Mountains. There is another account, which speaks of the Monquoi Indians, who formerly inhabited Lower California, and were partially civilized by the Spanish missionaries; but who have left that country, and of whom all traces have long since been lost. Perhaps some future travelers may be able to discover them again, and give their true history; for that there exists a small tribe of different manners and habits from those who surround them, there appears to be but little doubt.

Though not immediately allied with my subject, yet some information which I obtained in relation to the Indians, east of the Rocky Mountains, may be interesting. Between the Green and Arkansas, are the Navajoes, and south of them the Apaches. These hover about the Spanish settlements, which they frequently ravage, and whence they carry off the children as slaves. The trappers informed us that it was no uncommon circumstance to



see among them, Spanish boys, still speaking their own language, serving as slaves; and handsome white girls, living as wives to the haughty Apache warriors.

One thing seems well established, that the tribes are gradually extending themselves to the southward, or rather, the more northern are encroaching on those of the south. It is well known, that what is now called the Blackfeet country was formerly possessed by the Snakes; and that the older men of the nation are well acquainted with this fact. The country now in possession of the Snakes, belonged to the Bonacks, who have been driven to the Sandy Desert. The Kiniwas and Camanches are instances of the same occurrence. This movement is attributed to the desire of each tribe to possess a more fertile soil and more genial climate; and to the exhaustion of game or emigration of the buffalo to the east. There are none of these animals now found west of the Youta Lake; and several years ago, according to the hunters, they deserted that region to range nearer the Rocky Mountains; the space between which and the then Butes is now the great buffalo country; and frequented by the Nez Perces, Bonacks, Snakes, and Flatheads, where these latter have frequent contests with the Crows and Blackfeet.

Those who have travelled the route from the United States to the Oregon Territory, seem to have but little dread for the war parties of the Indians, who seldom now venture to attack any party of whites, however small. The great difficulty experienced by them, is in procuring food for their animals, and themselves at the point where many other obstacles are to be overcome; but the way for the emigrant is far less toilsome, from the accounts of those who have gone through the hardships, than has been represented. It will not be many years before these difficulties will not be considered, and in all probability, the new routes that will be found will render the travel much less fatiguing to both man and beast. One great impediment to the traveler after this journey is performed has been already removed; for on his arrival in the Oregon, he now meets with his friends, and every thing that he can desire, to insure his comfort in a new country; instead of, as formerly, depending upon the precarious supply furnished by the Indians.

## INDIANS ON THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL\*

My friend, Doctor Lyman, of Buffalo, who traveled from Santa Fe, in New Mexico, by the way of the Colorado of the West, (the old Spanish Trail, through what is now Utah) to Upper California, in the year 1841, has kindly furnished me with some of his observations, as well on that stream as the adjacent territories and the Indians inhabiting them, which I feel great pleasure in giving to the reader. \* \* \*

Yutas or Utaws.—The tribes of Indians called the Utaws or Youtas, and the Arrapahoes or Navajos, inhabit the country lying between the Lake Timpanigos and Santa Fe. The Utaws range between Latitudes 35° and 42° N., and the Meridians 29° and 37° W. Longitude of Washington. The legitimate country of the Arrapahoes lies between 36° and 42° N., and between Meridians 35° and 37° W. Longitude of Washington, the Jila being their southern and the Sheetskadée a part of their eastern boundary.

"The great Yutas tribe," says my friend Doctor Lyman, "is divided into two families which are contradistinguished by the names of their respective head-quarters; the Taos Yutas, so called, because their principal camp is pitched in Taos mountains, seventy miles north of Santa Fe; and the Timpanigos Yutas, who hold their great camp near the Timpanigos lake." These two families speak the same language, have the same manners and customs, and indulge in the same bitter hatred towards each other. A few years ago they were one people; but lately an old feud between some of the principal chiefs resulted in a dismemberment. The Timpanigos Yutas are a noble race, very friendly to Americans; and brave and hospitable. They look upon their brethren of the Taos mountains with contempt on account of their thieving propensities, and their treachery in robbing and often murdering the solitary wanderer who may chance to come into their country. The river San Juan is the boundary between these two branches of the Yutas, across which they seldom pass. Each of these tribes numbers about ten thousand souls. They subsist chiefly by the chase; but cultivate a little maize." \* \* \*

"The Timpanigos Yutas are very friendly to the American, and are delighted to have him in their camp. Their first and constant greeting is, 'Kahche winay—marakah nay,' 'very good American.' They manifest the greatest contempt for the New Mexicans. I traveled through their country with one of their head chiefs, named Wah-cah-rah, who was on his return from

\*Pictorial Edition—Life, Adventures, and Travels in California, pages 312, 371, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379 and 380, by T. J. Farnham—New York, 1849.



an unsuccessful expedition across the St. John's river, in pursuit of his faithless wife, who had left him and fled over the border with her paramour. He was quite sad during the early part of the journey, and was constantly muttering something of which I frequently distinguished the expression, 'Kah-che, kai-yah, mah-ru-kah,' which, from hearing so often repeated, I recollected, and afterwards, when he became more philosophic, which was the case towards the latter part of the journey, I asked him to interpret for me (he could speak a little Spanish), and he said it meant 'very bad girl.' He disclaimed all thought of invading the country of his successful rival, for he had, as he said, two other beauteous Helens, who would console him for his loss, and they certainly ought to do so, for he was the very beau-ideal of nature's nobility."

Piutes.—The northern banks of the Colorado, the region of Severe river, and those portions of the Timpanigos desert where man can find a snail to eat, are inhabited by a race of Indians, which I have partially described in my former book of travels before mentioned, under the name of Piutes. Doctor Lyman gives the same name differently spelled, Paiuches. He introduces his observations in relation to them by some further remarks as to the desolate character of the country which they inhabit.

"The only animal which I saw for many hundred miles through this country, was the hare (in one or two instances a stray antelope), but so wild, that we seldom could kill one of them. They were so densely covered with vermin, that nothing but utter starvation would induce one to eat them; they live upon the bark and tender branches of wild sage; and yet this immense tract of country is inhabited by a comparatively numerous tribe of Indians, generally known as the Paiuches, but by some called the Shoshonies, a name perhaps more properly applied to a tribe living a few degrees to the northward, and very much like the Paiuches in character.

"The Paiuches speak the same language as the Yutas, and are a branch of that tribe, but considered by the latter as mere dogs, the refuse of the lowest order of humanity; and they certainly are; for living in a country where vegetation is so scarce, that nothing but the diminutive hare can exist; where the water is of the poorest character, and famine an everyday occurrence; thus being nearly deprived of even the plainest nourishment fit for the support of the body, and almost entirely destitute of clothing to protect them from the inclemency of winter, what more could be expected of them than an equality with the brute creation? They are superior to them only in possession of a soul; but of this they seem to be totally unconscious. They have an idea of some superior being, whose presence they appear to recognize only in the raging elements. As to a future state they

are utterly ignorant: their life being one of brutal sensuality, and death a supposed annihilation. They do not even manifest the mutual affection of parents and children, so universally observed in the brute. There are instances to the contrary, but these are very rare.

"The food of these Indians is in conformity with the character of the country they inhabit. They collect the seeds of grasses, growing on the margins of the springs and salt ponds, roast and pulverize them between two stones, and then boil them into a thick mush. Upon this they subsist tolerably well while the gathering season continues; but being too stupid and improvident to make provision for the remainder of the year, they are often in the most wretched condition of want. Sometimes they succeed in ensnaring a hare, the flesh of which they eat, and the skin of which they cut into cords with the fur adhering; and braid them together so as to form a sort of cloak with a hole in the middle, through which they thrust their heads. The bark of pine trees growing on some of the trap mountains, is also a general article of food; so are roots! Ants, grasshoppers, and lizards, are classed among their choicest dainties. There are no relentings in favor of these little unfortunates; for no sooner are they grasped by the hand, than the teeth consign them to the tomb.

"It seems impossible that human beings can exist as these miserably destitute Indians do, without degenerating into the brutes they are, and therefore if they were not originally an inferior order of the human family, they have become so in all that appertains to the distinguishing and ennobling features of the race. In stature they are diminutive; in personal appearance disgusting in the extreme; their long untrimmed hair, instead of hanging in flowing masses over the shoulders, like that of other American Indians, is thickly matted with dirt, stands out on the head in hard knots, alive with vermin; which latter are eagerly sought after by them, as an article of food. I have seen other Indians engaged in this species of foraging, and even some of the women of New Mexico, but with much less zest and enjoyment of the appetite. Ablution, a custom universal among other Indians, these never practice. I might, but will not say more of this matter; enough has probably been said to give a pretty good idea of the exceeding disgust I felt at seeing and knowing that such wretched existences attached to our race. Without knowledge, without shelter, without raiment, food, water, fit for man, they are born and live and die among those terrible deserts, the most miserable of men, yet contented with their lot. But every man's hand is against them. The New Mexicans capture them for slaves; the neighboring Indians do the same; and even the bold and usually high-minded old beaver-hunter sometimes



descends from his legitimate labor among the mountain streams, to this mean traffic. The price of these slaves in the markets of New Mexico varies with the age and other qualities of person. Those from ten to fifteen years old sell from \$50 to \$100, which is by no means an extravagant price, if we take into consideration the herculean task of cleansing them fit for market. Their filth in their native state can indeed scarcely be conceived by one who has not beheld it; and to him it seems that nothing less potent than the waters of Peneus can wash it away.

"Notwithstanding their horrible deficiency in all the comforts and decencies of life, these Indians are so ardently attached to their country, that when carried into the lands of their captors and surrounded with abundance, they pine away and often die in grief for the loss of their native deserts. In one instance, I saw one of these Paiuches die from no other apparent cause than this home-sickness. From the time it was brought into the settlements of California it was sad, moaned, and continually refused to eat till it died.

"The Paiuches are very cowardly. They, however, make some weapons of defense, as bows and arrows. The bows are about six feet long; made of the savine (*Juniperus sabina*). This wood being very tough and elastic, the bows are both powerful and durable. Their arrows are made of a species of cane-bamboo, and are from three to four feet long, pointed with a bit of fire-hardened wood. When these canes are young they chew them for the juice, which contains considerable saccharine matter. Their habitations, if such they may be called, are of the rudest character. Some of them are mere holes dug in the sand-hills; others consist of sticks and branches of brush and trees piled up conically, and covered with dirt. This latter kind is usually found where they attempt villages of greater or less size, and stand huddled closely together. The interior of these huts is filthy beyond description.

"These Indians, although destitute of that daring which characterizes many other tribes in the mountain regions of which we are speaking, are occasionally a source of great annoyance to those who traverse these deserts, by gathering around their camps in the darkness of the night, and letting fly a volley of arrows at the travelers' horses and mules, mortally wounding or disabling more or less of them, so that they must be left behind when the caravan moves on; and when danger of chastisement has passed, they surfeit themselves on their carcasses.

"In this description of the Paiuches I have been governed by my own personal observations," says Doctor Lyman, "made during the three months I was occupied in traversing their country. I have been rather minute, because I am not aware of any other correct account having been given of them. And

although one is disgusted with their personal filth and mental degradation, yet his strongest sympathies must be excited by this shocking degradation, which the character of the country that they inhabit promises to perpetuate. They were the innocent cause of a great deal of suffering to myself and two companions. Four New Mexicans attached to our party captured on the banks of the Colorado an adult male and female with one child, whom myself and two friends tried to induce them to liberate. But as the other Americans of our company would not aid our effort, the majority was found against the movement and it failed. Our humanity raised such prejudices against us, that dissensions arose which resulted in a determination on the part of three of us to have no more connection with the party, and to prosecute our journey 'on our own hook.' The other Americans, as desirous as ourselves for liberation of the captives, but, as it proved, more discreet, remained with the Mexicans. So off we started by ourselves, three lone men, and traveled thirty-five or forty days, and endured the most excessive fatigue, and deprivations of food and water, much of which would have been avoided if we had smothered our objections to our companions' conduct in this affair, and been guided by their greater experience over those dreadful wastes. As it was, however, we traveled many successive days along the Colorado, over sandy deserts, subsisting on a daily allowance of a few mouthfuls of thin mush, and a little nauseous and bitter water wherewith to wet our mouths once in twenty-four or forty-eight hours. No druggist ever compounded a draught more disgusting than the green, slimy or brackish waters which we were compelled to drink. Finally our little stock of provisions was consumed to the last grain; and starvation was staring us in the face; but relief was not denied us; the sight of the wooded mountains of Upper California inspired us with new strength and courage, and soon after we fell in with a river of pure waters coming down from them; more delicious than the streams of olden fable; and our thankfulness and delight—who can measure it? It was ecstasy—such feelings I believe have no words. In those beautiful mountains we surfeited ourselves on the rich meats and fruits there abounding; prudence was cast to the winds; we could eat, and therefore did so; but ere long we suffered bitterly for our imprudence.

"We were not a little gratified, however, on arriving at the settlements on the sea-shore to learn that after we left the camp of these New Mexicans, our countrymen who remained with them, secretly in the night loosed the Paiuche captives and sent them to their desert homes."



## BRIGHAM YOUNG OPPOSES INDIAN SLAVERY\*

Thus we find that the people of New Mexico, at the time I am writing of them, in 1851, were making annual trips, commencing with a few goods, trading on their way with either Navajos or Utes (generally with the Navajos) for horses, which they sold very cheap, always retaining their best ones. These used-up horses were brought through and traded to the poorer Indians for children. The horses were often used for food. This trading was continued into Lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican-Californians for other horses, goods or cash. Many times a small outfit on the start would return with large herds of California stock.

All children bought on the return trip would be taken back to New Mexico and then sold, boys fetching on an average \$100, girls from \$150 to \$200. The girls were in demand to bring up for house servants, having the reputation of making better servants than any others. This slave trade gave rise to the cruel wars between the native tribes of this country, from Salt Lake down to the tribes in southern Utah. Walker and his band raided on the weak tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them to the Mexicans. Many of the lower classes, inhabiting the southern deserts, would sell their own children for a horse and kill and eat the horse. The Mexicans were as fully established and systematic in this trade as ever were the slavers on the seas and to them it was a very lucrative business.

At this time Brigham Young was governor of Utah and had the oversight of Indian affairs. Some little business in the slave trade had been done on the trip the summer before by our old guide, who was a regular trader. Governor Young asked me something about this business, telling me to look out, and if any of these traders came in, to let him know, as the laws of the United States, which then extended over this territory, prohibited this business, and that it would be his duty to put a stop to the same. He hoped to do this by advising these traders in regard to the present conditions. When this party of traders spoken of arrived, Governor Young was notified and came to Provo. The leaders of this company came to see the Governor, I acting as interpreter. Mr. Young had the law read and explained to them, showing them that from this on they were under obligations to observe the laws of United States instead of Mexico; that the treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo, had changed the conditions, and that from this on they were under the control of the United States. He further showed that it was a cruel practice to enslave human beings, and explained that the results of such a business caused war and bloodshed among the Indian tribes.

---

\**Forty Years Among the Indians*, pages 49 to 53, by Daniel W. Jones. Salt Lake City, 1890.

The Mexicans listened with respect, admitting that the traffic would have to cease. It was plainly shown to them that it was a cruel business which could not be tolerated any longer; but as it had been an old established practice, they were not so much to blame for following the traffic heretofore. Now it was expected that this business would be discontinued.

All seemed satisfied and pledged their words that they would return to their homes without trading for children. Most of them kept their promise, but one small party, under Pedro Leon, violated their obligations and were arrested and brought before the United States court, Judge Snow presiding.

This was quite a noted case. I was employed as interpreter. George A. Smith defended the prisoners, and Colonel Blair prosecuted with great wisdom, and tact, he knowing all about the Mexican character, having been in the Texan war. A great deal of prejudice and bitter feeling was manifested toward the Mexicans. Governor Young seeing this, used all his influence that they might have a fair and impartial trial, and the law be vindicated in a spirit of justice and not in the spirit of persecution.

The defense made by the Mexicans was that the Indians had stolen a lot of horses from them and that they had followed and overtaken them. On coming to their camp they found the Indians had killed and eaten the horses. The only remuneration they could get was to take some children which the Indians offered in payment, saying they did not mean to break their promise. This defense had some weight, whether true or not. Still they were found guilty and fined. The trial lasted several days; the fines were afterwards remitted, and the Mexicans allowed to return home. They had been delayed some time, and made nothing on their trip. No doubt they felt sour, but considering the law, they were dealt leniently with. This broke up the Indian slave trade.

Stopping this slave business helped to sour some of Walker's band. They were in the habit of raiding on the Pahutes and low tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them. Next year when they came up and camped on the Provo bench, they had some Indian children for sale. They offered them to the Mormons who declined buying. Arapine, Walker's brother, became enraged, saying that the Mormons had stopped the Mexicans from buying these children; they had no right to do so, unless they bought them themselves. Several of us were present when he took one of these children by the heels and dashed its brains out on the hard ground, after which he threw the body towards us, telling us we had no hearts, or we would have bought it and saved its life. This was a strange argument, but it was the argument of an enraged savage. I never heard of any successful attempts to buy children afterwards by the Mexicans. If done at all it was done secretly.



## LEGAL PROSECUTION OF SLAVE TRADERS\*

Pedro Leon and some of his associates were arrested and tried (as Mexican slave traders) before a Justice of the Peace at Manti (Utah) during the winter of 1851-52, and subsequently their case came up before Judge Zerubbabel Snow in the First District Court. His Honor in summing up the case stated the following as the material facts:

"In September last, twenty-eight Spaniards left New Mexico on a trading expedition with the Utah Indians, in their various localities in New Mexico and Utah. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight were severally interested in the expedition. The residue were servants. Among this company were the Spaniards against whom these suits were brought. Before they left, Pedro Leon obtained a license from the Governor of New Mexico to trade on his own account with the Utah Indians, in all their various localities. Another member of the company also had a license given to blank persons by the Governor of New Mexico. The residue were without license. They proceeded on their route until they arrived near the Rio Grande, where they exchanged with the Indians some goods for horses and mules. With these horses and mules, being something more than one hundred, they proceeded to Green River, in this Territory, where they sent some five or six of their leading men to see Governor Young, and exhibit to him their license; and as the Spanish witness said, if that was not good here, then to get from him another license. Governor Young not being at home, but gone south, they proceeded after and found him November 3rd at San Pete Valley. Here they exhibited to the Governor their license, and informed him they wished to sell their horses and mules to the Utah Indians, and buy Indian children to be taken to New Mexico. Governor Young then informed them that their license did not authorize them to trade with the Indians in Utah. They then sought one from him, but he refused it, for the reason that they wanted to buy Indian children for slaves. The Spaniards then promised him they would not trade with the Indians but go immediately home. Twenty of the number, with about three-fourths of the horses and mules, left pursuant to this promise and have not been heard from since. The eight who were left behind, are the men who were parties to these proceedings."

Judge Snow decided against the eight defendants, who were shown to have violated the law, and the Indian slaves in their possession, a squaw and eight children, were liberated, and the Mexicans sent away.

---

\*History of Utah, Volume 1, pages 510 and 511, by Orson F. Whitney.

## UTAH LAWS AGAINST INDIAN SLAVERY\*

## Chapter 24

A Preamble and An Act for the further relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners.

Whereas, by reason of the acquisition of Upper California and New Mexico, and the subsequent organization of the Territorial Governments of New Mexico and Utah by the acts of the Congress of the United States, these Territories have organized Governments within and upon what would otherwise be considered Indian territory, and which really is Indian territory so far as the right of soil is involved, thereby presenting the novel feature of a white legalized government on Indian lands; and

Whereas, The laws of the United States in relation to intercourse with Indians are designed for and applicable to territories and countries under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; and

Whereas, From time immemorial, the practice of purchasing Indian women and children of the Utah tribe of Indians by Mexican traders has been indulged in and carried on by those respective peoples, until the Indians consider it an allowable traffic, and frequently offer their prisoners or children for sale, and

Whereas, It is common practice among these Indians to gamble away their own children and women; and it is a well established fact that women and children thus obtained, or obtained by war, or theft, or in any other manner, are by them frequently carried from place to place packed upon horses or mules; lariatied out to subsist upon grass, roots, or starve; and are frequently bound with thongs made of rawhide, until their hands and feet become swollen, mutilated, inflamed with pain and wounded, and, when with suffering, cold, hunger and abuse they fall sick so as to become troublesome, are frequently slain by their masters to get rid of them; and

Whereas, They do frequently kill their women and children taken prisoners, either for revenge, or for amusement, or through the influence of tradition, unless they are tempted to exchange them for trade, which they usually do if they have an opportunity; and

Whereas, One family frequently steals the children and women of another family, and such robberies and murders are continually committed, in times of their greatest peace and amity, thus dragging free Indian women and children into Mexican

---

\*Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, passed at the several annual sessions of the Legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah. Published by virtue of an act approved Jan. 19, 1855.



servitude and slavery, or death, to the almost entire extirpation of the whole Indian race; and

Whereas, These inhuman practices are being daily enacted before our eyes in the midst of the white settlements and within the organized counties of the Territory; and when the inhabitants do not purchase or trade for those so offered for sale, they are generally doomed to the most miserable existence, suffering the tortures of every species of cruelty, until death kindly relieves them and closes the revolting scenery,

Whereas, When all these facts are taken into consideration, it becomes the duty of all humane and christian people to extend unto this degraded and downtrodden race such relief as can be awarded to them, according to their situation and circumstances; it therefore becomes necessary to consider;

First, The circumstances of our location among these savage tribes under the authority of Congress, while yet the Indian title to the soil is left unextinguished not even a treaty having been held by which a partition of territory or country has been made, thereby bringing them into our dooryards, our houses and in contact with our every avocatoin;

Second, Their situation and our duty towards them, upon the common principles of humanity;

Third, The remedy, or what will be the most conducive to ameliorate their condition, preserve their lives and their liberties, and redeem them from a worse than African bondage. It suggests itself to your committee that to memorialize Congress to provide by some act of national legislation for the new and unparalleled situation of the inhabitants of this territory, in relation to their intercourse with these Indians, would be one resource prolific in its results for our mutual benefit; and further, that we ask their concurrence in the following enactment, passed by the Legislature of the Territory of Utah, Jan. 31, A. D. 1852, entitled

An Act for the relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners.

Sec. 1.—Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the territory of Utah; That whenever any white person within any organized county of this territory shall have any Indian prisoner, child, or woman in his possession, whether by purchase or otherwise, such person shall immediately go, together with such Indian prisoner, child or woman, before the Selectman or Probate Judge of the county. If in the opinion of the Selectman or Probate Judge the person having such Indian prisoner, child or woman, is a suitable person, and properly qualified to raise, or retain and educate said Indian prisoner, child or woman, it shall be his or their duty to bind out the same by indenture for the term of not exceeding twenty years, at the discretion of the Judge or Selectman.

Sec. 2.—The Probate Judge or Selectman shall cause to be written in the indenture the name and age, place where born, name of parents, if known, tribe to which said Indian person belonged, name of the person having him in possession, name of Indian from whom said person was obtained and date of the indenture, a copy of which shall be filed in the Probate clerk's office.

Sec. 3.—The Selectmen in their respective counties are hereby authorized to obtain such Indian prisoners, children, or women, and bind them to some useful avocation.

Sec. 4.—The master to whom the indenture is made is hereby required to send said apprentice to school, if there be a school in the district or vicinity, for the term of three months in each year, at a time when said Indian child shall be between the ages of seven and sixteen. The master shall clothe his apprentice in a comfortable and becoming manner, according to his, said master's condition in life.

Approved March 7, 1852.

## Chapter 25

An Act in relation to the assembling of Indians.

Sec. 1.—Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah; That if any Indian trader or traders shall, by any notice or previous arrangement, assemble or cause to be assembled any number of Indians within the neighborhood or immediate vicinity of any white settlement in this territory, for the purpose of trading with them, to the annoyance of the citizens, or any neighborhood in this Territory, he shall be considered as breaking the peace, and may be proceeded against by any citizen of this Territory in a suit at law, and may be fined in any sum not less than twenty-five dollars nor exceeding one thousand dollars, at the discretion of the Court having jurisdiction.

Approved March 3, 1852.

## INDIAN AGENTS REPORT ON SLAVERY\*

Between the Utahs proper and the Py-ceeds there is a species of traffic which I believe is not known among any other tribes upon the continent. I allude to the bartering of children. So abject and degraded are the Py-ceeds that they will sell their children to the Utahs for a few trinkets or bits of clothing.

---

\*(Appendix O.—pages 461 and 462—Indians of Utah, by Dr. Garland Hurt, (May 2, 1860) in report of exploration across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a direct wagon-route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859, by Captain J. H. Simpson—Washington, 1876.)



The Utahs carry these children to New Mexico, where they find a profitable market for them among the Navajos; and so important is it in enabling them to supply themselves with blankets from the Navajos, who manufacture a superior article of Indian blankets, that the trade has become quite indispensable; and so vigorously is it prosecuted that scarcely one-half of the Py-eed children are permitted to grow up in the band; and, a large majority of those being males, this and other causes are tending to depopulate their bands very rapidly.

### GOVERNMENT INQUIRY INTO CONDITION OF INDIANS\*

Chief Justice Kirby Benedict sworn, and upon inquiries deposed as follows:

In August next I will have resided twelve years in New Mexico. I came here with the commission of judge, and have been a member of the supreme court and judge of a district up to the present time; since in the summer of 1858 I have been chief justice. \* \* \*

The Navajos were in the habit of making forays upon the ranches and settlements, stealing, robbing and killing and carrying away captives; the finding of herds and driving off sheep and other animals was carried on to a very ruinous extent; the killing of persons did not seem so much the object of their warfare as an incidental means of succeeding in other depredations. Sometimes, however, barbarous vengeance was exhibited and a thirst for blood. They carried away captives, but I cannot now give any accurate idea of the number. There are in the Territory a large number of Indians, principally females, (women and children), who have been taken by force, or stealth, or purchased, who have been among the various wild tribes of New Mexico or those adjoining. Of these a large proportion are Navajos. It is notorious that natives of this country have sometimes made captives of Navajo women and children when opportunities presented themselves; the custom has long existed here of buying Indian persons, especially women and children; the tribes themselves have carried on this kind of traffic. Destitute orphans are sometimes sold by their remote relations; poor parents also make traffic of their children. The Indian persons obtained in any of the modes mentioned are treated by those who claim to own them as their servants and slaves. They are bought and sold by and between the inhabitants at a price as much as is a

---

\*Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee, appointed under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865. With an Appendix, pages 325, 337, 355, 356, 357. The Doolittle Report. Washington, 1867.

horse or an ox. Those who buy, detain and use them seem to confide in the long-established custom and practice which prevails, and did prevail before this country was a portion of the United States. Those who hold them are exceedingly sensitive of their supposed interest in them, and easily alarmed at any movements in the civil courts or otherwise to dispossess them of their imagined property. The rich, and those who have some quantities of property, are those chiefly who possess the persons I have mentioned; those usually have much popular influence in the country, and the exertion of this influence is one of the means by which they hope to retain their grasp upon their Indian slaves. The prices have lately ranged very high. A likely girl of not more than eight years old, healthy and intelligent, would be held at a value of four hundred dollars, or more. When they grow to womanhood they sometimes become mothers from the natives of the land, with or without marriage. Their children, however, by the custom of the country, are not regarded as property which may be bought and sold as has been their mothers. They grow up and are treated as having the rights of citizens. They marry and blend with the general population. From my own observations I am not able to form an opinion satisfactory to my own mind of the number of Indians held as slaves or fixed domestic servants without their being the recipients of wages. Persons of high respectability for intelligence, who have made some calculations on the subject, estimate the number at various figures, from fifteen hundred to three thousand, and even exceeding the last number. The more prevalent opinion seems to be they considerably exceed two thousand. As to federal officers holding this description of persons or trafficking in them, I can only say I see them attending the family of Governor Connelly, but whether claimed by his wife, himself, or both, I know not. I am informed the superintendent of Indian affairs has one in his family, but I cannot state by what claim she is retained. From the social position occupied by the Indian agents, I presume all of them, except one, have the presence and assistance of the kind of persons mentioned; I cannot, however, state positively. In the spring of 1862, when Associate Justice Hubbell and myself conveyed our families to the States, he informed me at Las Vegas that he sold one Indian woman to a resident of that place preparatory to crossing the plains. I know of no law in this Territory by which property in a Navajo or other Indian can be recognized in any person whatever, any more than property can be recognized in the freest white man or black man. In 1855, while holding district court in the county of Valencia, a proceeding in habeas corpus was had before me on the part of a wealthy woman as petitioner, who claimed the possession and services of a Navajo girl then twelve years old,

and who had been held by the petitioner near seven years. On the trial I held the girl to be a free person, and adjudged accordingly. In 1862 a proceeding in habeas corpus was instituted before me by an aged man who had held in service many years an Indian woman who had been, when a small child, bought from the Payweha Indians. The right of the master to the possession and services of the woman on the one side, and the right of the woman to her personal freedom, were put distinctly at issue. Upon the hearing I adjudged the woman to be a free woman; I held the claim of the master to be without foundation in law and against natural rights. In each of the cases the party adjudged against acquiesced in the decision, and no appeal was ever taken. In the examination of the cases it appeared that before the United States obtained New Mexico captive and purchased Indians were held here by custom in the same manner as they have been since held. The courts are open to them, but they are so influenced by the circumstances which surround them they do not seem to think of seeking the aid of the law to establish the enjoyment of their right to freedom.

**James Conklin sworn:**

I was born in Canada; raised in St. Louis; am sixty-five years of age; and have resided in this Territory since 1825. I think about half the time there has been war, and the other half peace, between the Navajos and Mexicans, ever since I have been here, both under the Mexican republic and the United States. The occasion of hostilities has been, the Navajos have been inclined to steal from the Mexicans, and when they do not, the Mexicans steal from them. During their forays, on both sides, they kill and rob, taking flocks and herds, mules and horses, and cattle and prisoners, and keep them as servants. They take Mexicans for servants, and the Mexicans take Navajos and make servants of them. This has been a hereditary thing from generation to generation.

**Apache Chiefs and Headmen:**

Before the war with the Utahs and Mexicans, had everything we wanted; but now have lost everything. Herrero was quite young when the war commenced with the Mexicans. In the war everything was stolen on both sides—women and children, flocks. When children were taken we kept them, sold them, or gave them back. The Mexicans got the most children; we have only two, and they don't want to go back; have not been in the habit of selling our own children; don't know of an instance.

**Juan Baptiste Laney:**

He is a Roman Catholic bishop of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado. He has resided here fourteen years; has become



acquainted with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico; has visited them all once, and some of them many times. \* \* \*

There are a good many Navajo captives among the Mexican families; they make the best of servants. Some families abuse them, while others treat them like their own children. Most of the Mexican families have them; there are more than a thousand of them, perhaps two or three thousand. Part of these captives have been taken in war by the Mexicans, and part have been purchased from the Indians, such as the Utes, who are constantly at war with the Navajos. These slaves have been bought and sold in this manner for years, but of late the traffic has been greatly diminished through the agency of General Carleton, and also in a certain degree through that of other persons.

### AMERICAN POSTS (Continued)

By Edgar M. Ledyard

**Halifax, Fort.** Fort Halifax was built at the mouth of Armstrong Creek, about one-half mile above the town of Halifax by Colonel William Clapham, in 1756. This was one of a series of fortifications, erected by the Provincial Government, from 1752 to 1763, located between the Delaware and Potomac Rivers. Plans for Fort Halleck called for two hundred squared logs, each about 30 feet in length. Work on the fort was pushed as rapidly as possible on account of impending Indian hostilities. The site was first called Camp Armstrong and renamed Fort Halifax by Governor Morris on June 25, 1756. It appears from imperfect historical data that the garrison formerly stationed at Fort Hunter, Pennsylvania, was removed to Fort Halifax soon after it was built. Simon Girty, father of the famous outlaw, lived at Fort Halifax, or near it, at one time, while engaged in trading with the Indians. When completed, the fort was a quadrangle with four bastions, these being surrounded by a ditch about ten feet deep. Pennsylvania.

**Halleck Battery**, on Tybee Island. Georgia.

**Halleck Battery**, at Fort Hancock. New Jersey.

**Halleck, Fort**, at Columbus. Kentucky.

**Halleck, Fort**, at Suffolk. Virginia.

**Hallet, Camp**, at Cranston. Rhode Island.

**Halletts Point, Fort**, at Fort Stevens. New York.

**Halliman, Fort.** Latitude 29°, longitude 82°45". Florida.

**Halsey, Camp**, Kashequa, McKean County. Pennsylvania.

**Halt Mond, Fort.** New York.

**Hamer, Fort**, temporary post, left bank of the Manatee River, about four miles east of Braden Creek; established in 1849. Florida.

**Hamilton Battery**, on Bird Island, Savannah River. Georgia.

**Hamilton, Camp**, at Buckeyestown. Florida.

**Hamilton, Camp**, at Lexington. Kentucky.

**Hamilton, Camp**, at Columbia. Tennessee.

**Hamilton, Camp**, near Fort Brown. Texas.

**Hamilton, Camp**, near Fort Monroe. Virginia.

**Hamilton, Fort**, north of Fort Standoff. Canada.

**Hamilton, Fort**, temporary fort in Florida War, 3 miles southwest from Fort R. Jones and east of Fort Vose, on the Ocala River. Florida.

**Hamilton, Fort**, near Galena. Illinois.

**Hamilton, Fort**, southwestern extremity of Long Island at the "Narrows" and on the east side of the entrance to New York Harbor. One of the principal defenses of New York City. This post was established in 1831. In 1914 the garrison consisted of five companies of Coast Artillery. Post located about seven and one-half miles from New York City. New York.

**Hamilton, Fort**, at Hamilton, at the crossing of the Great Miami; built in 1791, by General Arthur St. Clair. Fort Washington and Fort Jefferson were nearby contemporary posts. Butler County. Ohio.

**Hamilton, Fort**. Depredations by the Indians were committed on Big Creek, near which Fort Hamilton was founded in December, 1755, to avoid further attacks. James Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin were appointed as Commissioners by Governor Morris to provide defenses for this section of Pennsylvania. After looking over the ground, they decided to establish Fort Hamilton which was completed by the 20th of January, 1856. It was named for James Hamilton, one of the commissioners, above mentioned. Fort Hamilton was not so important a post as some of the other early forts of Pennsylvania since it stood in a sparsely settled country. Pennsylvania.

**Hamilton, Fort**, Rhode Island, Narragansett Bay, opposite Newport. Rhode Island.

**Hamilton, Fort**. Also called Hamilton's Fort. Southern part of Iron County, near Kanarraville, Utah.

**Hamilton, Fort, (now Wiota)**. Established during the Black Hawk War. On site of William S. Hamilton's Smelting Works. Wisconsin.

**Hamlin, Fort**. Fort Hamlin, now abandoned, was located on the left bank of the Yukon River, about 90 miles northeast of Fairbanks and on the opposite side of the river from Shamans Village. Alaska.

**Hammond, Fort**, at Allatoona Pass. Georgia.

**Hammond's Fort**, on Arrowsic Island, mouth of Kennebec River. Maine.

**Hampton, Fort**. Temporary work on the left bank of the

Elk River, east of Athens, in the vicinity of the Muscle Shoals of the Tennessee River. Alabama.

**Hampton, Fort**, on present site of Fort Macon. North Carolina.

**Hancock Barracks**, one mile north of Houlton, near the eastern boundary line of the State. Maine.

**Hancock, Camp**, at Augusta. Georgia.

**Hancock, Camp**, at Edwinton. North Dakota.

**Hancock, Camp**, at Brandy Station. Virginia.

**Hancock, Camp**, near Harper's Ferry. Virginia.

**Hancock, Fort**. This post is situated on Sandy Hook, four miles from Highland Beach, New Jersey. The first use of Sandy Hook for military purposes was in 1807. Purchases, for military use, were made in 1817 and in 1892 the whole peninsula became the property of the Government. This post was named after Major General Winfield Scott Hancock. The present post was established in 1892. In 1914 six companies of Coast Artillery were stationed at Fort Hancock. New Jersey.

**Hancock, Fort**. On west bank of Missouri River south of Fort Lincoln. North Dakota.

**Hancock, Fort**. Fifty-three miles east of El Paso, now a town of that name. The site was first called Camp Rice. Texas.

**Hancock, Fort**, at mouth of Columbia River. Washington.

**Hand, Fort**, at Kittaning. Pennsylvania.

**Hanover, Fort at**, in Luzerne County. Listed in Heitman's "Historical Register" but not, at least under "Fort Hanover", in "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania." Pennsylvania.

**Hanson, Fort**. Temporary fort in Florida War, a little east of the St. John's River, thirteen miles southwest from St. Augustine. Florida.

**Hanson, Camp**, at Grayling, Crawford County. Michigan.

**Hardee, Camp**, at Pitman's Ferry. Missouri.

**Hardin, Camp**, at Sand Lake. New York.

**Hardy, Fort**, on Hudson River, at Schuylerville. New York.

**Hareniger, Fort**. Same as Fort Herkimer. New York.

**Harker, Fort**. Formerly Fort Ellsworth. Left bank of Smoky Hill River, forty-five miles from Fort Zarah and one hundred miles above Fort Ripley, at Kanopolis, Ellsworth County. Kansas.

**Harlam, Camp**, at Seventh Street Road. Washington, D. C.

**Harlee, Fort**. Temporary fort on the right bank of the Santa Fe River, on the road from Newmansville to Fort Heilman, established in Florida War. Florida.

**Harmer, Fort**. Built in 1785. West side of the mouth of the Muskingum, on the Ohio River and opposite Marietta. Ohio.

**Harney, Camp**, at Belleville on Rio Grande. Texas.

**Harney, Fort**, on Willamette Valley and Cascade Mountain



Military Road. First called Camp Steele. Present town of Harney lies north of Malheur Lake in Harney Valley, Harney County. Oregon.

**Harper's Ferry Armory.** Harper's Ferry was named after Robert Harper, an English millwright who obtained a grant of land from the owner, Lord Fairfax, in 1748. Harper was not the founder, but he is buried at Harper's Ferry. George Washington, a friend of Lord Fairfax, surveyed it and personally selected it as a site of a National Armory in 1794. This was designated by Congress as the Southern National Armory. Springfield, Massachusetts, was selected during the same year as the site of a Northern National Armory. All the Government records of Harper's Ferry were destroyed when the Arsenal was burned on April 18, 1861. Jefferson Davis complained of and charged the Federal Army with destroying their own property in the face of the fact that it was their avowed purpose to possess and occupy property belonging to the United States. There are no records in the way of guns or notes which show that any arms were manufactured at Harper's Ferry prior to 1801, and Harper's Ferry first attracted attention as an armory when John M. Hall established himself there in 1816. John M. Hall was the inventor of Hall's Breech-Loading Flintlock Rifle, patented by William Thornton and John M. Hall on May 21, 1811. Hall's Rifle was the first breech-loading arm ever patented in the United States, and the first breech-loader adopted and used by any army. Three of Hall's Breech-Loading Rifles, in the possession of the writer, show careful workmanship and unusual ingenuity. The Harper's Ferry Armory turned out from 1500 to 2000 guns a month under normal conditions and the rifles made there were considered the best in the world. No unusual event occurred at Harper's Ferry until the Arsenal was seized by John Brown on October 16, 1859. Brown and his party fortified themselves in an engine house; with the exception of ten men, who were killed, Brown and the surviving members surrendered to Captain, afterwards General, Robert E. Lee, and were tried and executed at Charles Town, Virginia. Harper's Ferry was captured by the Confederates on April 18th, 1861, and the Arsenal destroyed. Some 16 or 17 thousand rifles and muskets and the carpenter shop were burned. A large part of the gun-making machinery and some unfinished material were saved and later sent to Winchester, from which point it was distributed to the Confederate Arsenals in Richmond, Virginia, and Fayetteville, North Carolina. These arsenals served to construct, alter and repair many of the arms used by the Southern Confederacy. In March, 1865, the machinery was removed from the Fayetteville Arsenal and secreted in Egypt, Chatam County, Virginia, at the site of large coal mines owned and operated before the war by Philadelphia capitalists.

In May, 1865, the United States Government, learning of the whereabouts of this machinery, sent ninety-six 6-mule teams there, who captured the machinery and removed it to Raleigh, from which point it was shipped on cars to Washington. Among other things recovered was the die with which the letters "U. S." and the "eagle" were stamped on the lock plate; the "U. S." had been cut out and "C. S. A." put in its place. Harper's Ferry is at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers; three states, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia "join" here, forming a scene of unsurpassed beauty of which Thomas Jefferson wrote as follows:

"You stand on a very high point of land; on your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to find a vent; on your left approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic."

In addition to Fairfax and Washington and Jefferson and Lee and Brown and Hall, named above, the names of J. E. B. Stuart and Franz Sigel and Joe Johnston and "Stonewall" Jackson, and many other leaders of the Civil War are associated with its history. Lewis W. Washington, a great grand nephew of George Washington, was held as a hostage by John Brown during his short siege. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad has marked the site of many historical spots of this small town with its great and almost universally known history. West Virginia.

**Harrell, Fort**, at head of Alcotopah River; temporary fort in Florida War. Florida.

**Harriett, Fort**. Temporary fort established during the Florida War, at the source of the eastern tributary of the Sockohoppe River, seventeen miles northwest from St. Marks. Florida.

**Harriloliz, Fort**, in Leon County. Florida.

**Harris, Fort**. About the year 1705, John Harris, Senior, built a log house on the present site of Harrisburg. This building was later altered somewhat and became Fort Harris. His son, John Harris, founded the City of Harrisburg, formerly called Harris' Ferry. Early Pennsylvania records state that Indians were hostile around this post in 1755-56. Fort Harris was further strengthened at that time and provisions were laid in, anticipating a siege. The fort stood on the lower banks of the Susquehanna River. Pennsylvania.

**Harris, Fort**. Confederate work; left bank of the Mississippi River, seven miles above Memphis. Tennessee.

**Harrison, Camp.** Six miles from Cincinnati. Ohio.

**Harrison, Fort.** Temporary fort at Clear Water harbor, west of the head of Tampa Bay; established in Florida War. Florida.

**Harrison, Fort.** Left bank of the Wabash River, three miles above Terre Haute. Indiana.

**Harrison, Fort Benjamin;** ten miles northeast of Indianapolis. A United States Military Post named for Ex-President Benjamin Harrison. Lawrence. Indiana.

**Harrison, Fort William Henry.** Six miles west of Helena. Montana.

**Harrison, Fort.** North of Mohawk River, near Stone Arabia. New York.

**Harrison, Fort.** On Narragansett Bay. Rhode Island.

**Harrison, Fort,** on left bank of James River, near Richmond. Built by Confederates. Virginia.

**Harrod's Fort,** at Harrodsburg. Kentucky.

**Hartford, Fort,** at present site of Hartford. Connecticut.

**Hartsuff, Fort,** on Pease Creek. Florida.

**Hartsuff, Fort,** on Loup River, 76 miles from Grand Island. Nebraska.

**Harvie, Fort.** Identical with Fort Myers. Temporary fort on Caloosahatchee Bay; established in the Florida War. Florida.

**Harvey, Camp.** Present site of Milwaukee. Wisconsin.

**Haskell, Camp.** Present site of Athens. Georgia.

**Haskell, Camp.** Present site of Macon. Georgia.

**Haskell, Camp;** about 30 miles from Warsaw. Missouri.

**Haskell, Fort.** One of the Rebel defenses before Petersburg. Virginia.

**Haskin's Fort.** In Benton County. Oregon.

**Hasting's, Camp,** at Mount Gretna. Pennsylvania.

**Hatch, Camp.** Later called Fort Concho. Texas.

**Hatch's Ranch.** A post was maintained at the ranch for some time. Hatch's Ranch is about 65 miles from Fort Union. New Mexico.

**Hatteras, Fort,** on Pamblico Sound—Hatteras Inlet. Built by Confederates and captured by Federals in 1861. North Carolina.

**Haven, Camp,** at Niantic. Connecticut.

**Haven, Fort.** Said to have been located in Carson Valley, Utah. Probably a frontier post of Utah when Nevada was included in its boundaries. Nevada.

**Hawk's Fort,** at Charlemont. Massachusetts.

**Hawkins, Fort,** on left bank of the Ocmulgee in Jones County, above the mouth of Walnut Creek and opposite Macon. Now effaced. Georgia.

**Hawley, Fort, (1866-67).** On right bank of Missouri River,



in eastern part of Chouteau County. Mail was dispatched from Malta, Valley County. Montana.

**Hawley, Camp**, on present site of Galveston. Texas.

**Hawn, Fort**, on Tombigbee River. Alabama.

**Hay, Camp John**, at Baguio, Mountain Providence, Luzon, 171 miles from Manila. Summer camp of the Philippines, reached over Benguet Road built by Ex-President W. H. Taft. Philippine Islands.

**Hayes, Fort**. Within corporate limits of Columbus. Ohio.

**Hays, Fort**. First called Camp Fletcher. Forks of Big Creek, about four miles from its mouth on Smoky Hill River, 52 miles west of Fort Ellsworth. This post was in western Kansas on the Union Pacific, formerly Kansas Pacific Railroad; an important army post in early days. Many noted officers including Sheridan and Custer were stationed at the post or visited it officially. Now called Hays. Kansas.

**Hays, Fort Alexander**. One of the defenses before Petersburg. Virginia.

**Hazelhurst Field**, Mineola. New York.

**Head, Fort**. Site of present Fort Sewall, Marblehead. Massachusetts.

**Head's Fort**. North of Rocheport. Missouri.

**Heard, Fort**. Also called Heard's Fort. On site of present town of Washington, Wilkes County. Built primarily as a defense for Augusta and was for a short time, during the Revolution, the temporary capital of Georgia. Georgia.

**Hearn, Camp Lawrence J.** Fourteen miles south of San Diego, California, Palm City. California.

**Heath, Camp**, at Morganton. North Carolina.

**Heath, Fort**. Subpost of Fort Banks, four and one-half miles northeast of Boston. Massachusetts.

**Hedges, Fort**, at Martinsburg. West Virginia.

**Heiman, Fort**. On the Tennessee River, about 75 miles from Paducah. Kentucky.

**Heights of Quebec, The**. The Citadel, Castle St. Louis. Canada.

**Heilman, Fort**. Junction of the north and south forks of Black Creek, tributary to St. John's River, near Whitesville. Florida.

**Helen, Fort**, on Tshugatshian Bay. Alaska.

**Hell, Fort**. A facetious name for Fort Sedgwick which was located at Petersburg. Virginia.

**Hell Gate**. Defenses of New York City on East River. New York.

**Helsinburg, Fort**. Also called Elsinburg. On the Delaware River. New Jersey.

**Hempstead, Fort**, in Howard County. Missouri.

# Utah State Historical Society

## BOARD OF CONTROL

(Terms Expiring April 1, 1933)

J. CECIL ALTER, Salt Lake City	JOEL E. RICKS, Logan
WM. R. PALMER, Cedar City	PARLEY L. WILLIAMS, Salt Lake City
ALBERT F. PHILIPS, Salt Lake City	

(Terms Expiring April 1, 1931)

GEORGE E. FELLOWS, Salt Lake City	WILLIAM J. SNOW, Provo
HUGH RYAN, Salt Lake City	LEVI E. YOUNG, Salt Lake City
FRANK K. SEEGLER, Salt Lake City	

## EXECUTIVE OFFICERS 1930-1931

ALBERT F. PHILIPS, President	J. CECIL ALTER, Secretary-Treasurer
Librarian and Curator	Editor in Chief
WILLIAM J. SNOW, Vice President	

All Members, Board of Control, Associate Editors

---

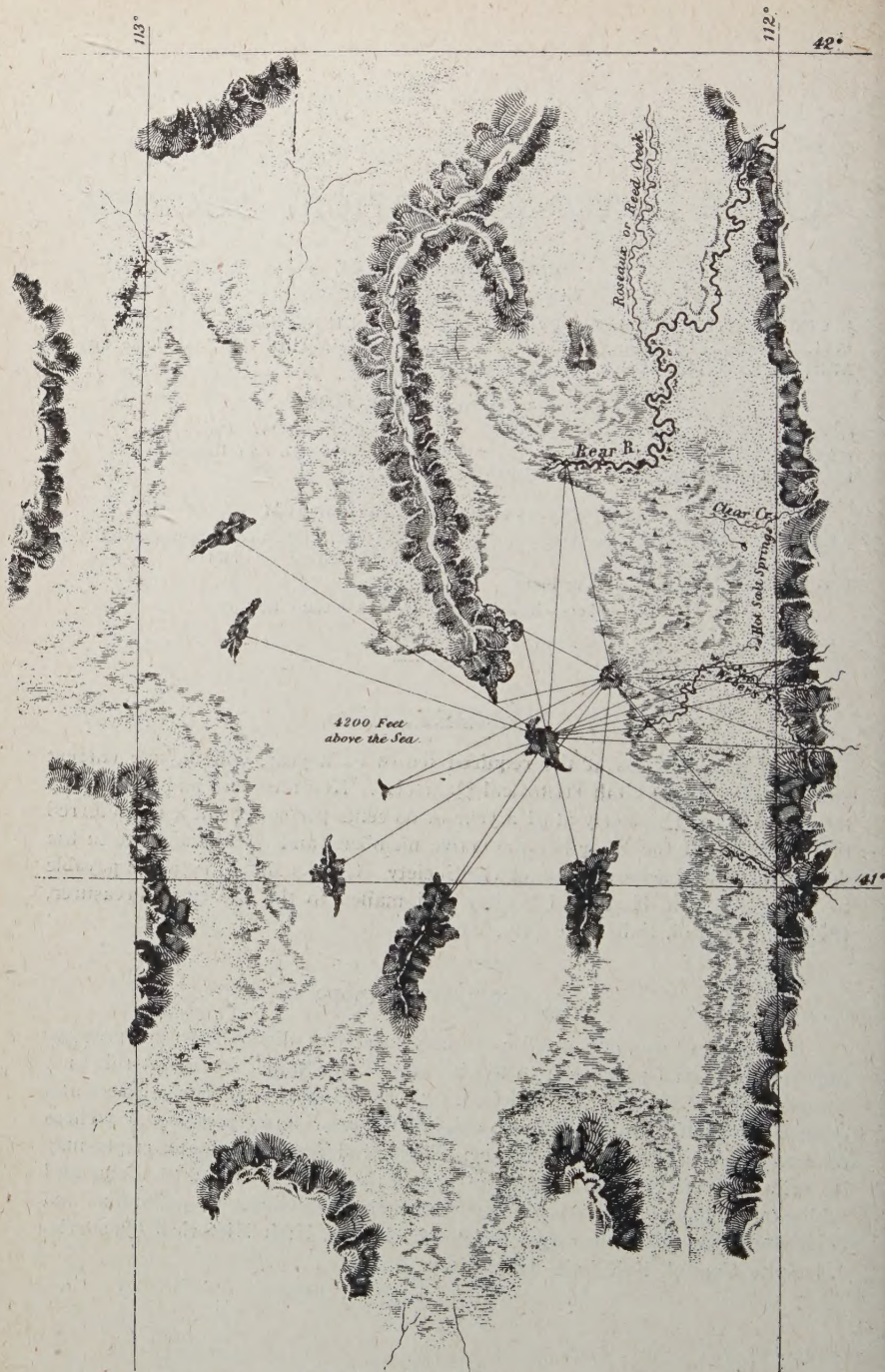
## MEMBERSHIP

Paid memberships at the required fee of \$2 a year, will include current subscriptions to the Utah Historical Quarterly. Non-members and institutions may receive the Quarterly at \$1 a year or 35 cents per copy; but it is preferred that residents of the State become active members, and thus participate in the deliberations and achievements of the Society. Checks should be made payable to the Utah State Historical Society and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer, 131 State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

The Society was organized essentially to collect, disseminate and preserve important material pertaining to the history of the State. To effect this end, contributions of writings are solicited, such as old diaries, journals, letters and other writings of the pioneers; also original manuscripts by present day writers on any phase of early Utah history. Treasured papers or manuscripts may be printed in faithful detail in the Quarterly, without harm to them, and without permanently removing them from their possessors. Contributions and correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, Utah Historical Quarterly, 131 State Capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah.





GREAT SALT LAKE, MAPPED BY CAPT. JOHN C. FREMONT  
IN SEPTEMBER, 1843 (See page 111)